

VOLUME 32 NUMBER 3
MARCH 1954

Route to

School Life



◀Voice of Democracy Winners

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education

"The Ideals We Live By"

"Ideals, the system of values by which men live, are of supreme importance in the life of the individual and in the life of the nation. Ideals are practical. Woven into the personality structure of the individual citizen, they give him a map of life, a sense of direction, a standard by which he may judge his inner impulses and his overt behavior. The terms of human association, the worth and dignity and respect men accord one another, the sense of justice they entertain, their willingness to cooperate and sacrifice for the common good—all these are rooted in and grow out of the ideals that lie at the base of a particular way of life.

"But ideals do more than give the individual a guide to his own personal behavior, they do more than define the terms upon which he will meet and mingle and work with others; they equip the individual citizen with a measure of men and institutions, a measure he can apply to those seeking positions of leadership, to proposals of public policy, to the workings of the whole complex pattern of social arrangements and institutions.

"For the individual, then, it is his system of values that gives life meaning, that equips him for effective and fruitful living in home and community, that makes it possible for him to share in the work of improving conditions under which men live in his own society and throughout the world.

"Ideals are no less important in the life of a society than they are in the lives of the individuals composing it. A society is possible only because the individuals that form it have a common sense of reality and are bound together by common loyalties. It is this body of core values, this wide community of ideas and ideals that gives a society its basic pattern, that holds it together and prevents it from becoming a mere aggregation of individuals without purpose and without goal.

"More important still, systems of social relationships attain the status of social institutions only when they are accepted as being in conformity with the essential value premises of society. In other words, social institutions—the family, the community, the church, the state, the economy, the school—are merely the carriers and implementers of the ideals which men entertain.

"All this is but to say that it is the ideals that men live by that determine the quality of their individual lives and of the civilization they achieve. Ideals are the measure of a man and they are the measure of a civilization."

*Excerpt from *Education for American Citizenship*, the Thirty-Second Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C., 1954. \$5.

**School
Life**

Official Journal of the Office of Education
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The cover photograph shows the four winners of the Voice of Democracy Contest on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D. C. From left, they are Joel H. Cyprus, Wichita Falls, Tex.; Elizabeth Evans, Akron, Ohio; Philip M. McCoy, Kansas City, Kans.; and Joseph H. Gerdes, Jr., Harrisburg, Pa. A Julian King Photo. For story, see page 81.

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION was established in 1867 "for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

SCHOOL LIFE is indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, and in Education Index..... (Single copy price of SCHOOL LIFE—15 cents)



Joseph H. Gerdes, Jr.



Philip M. McCoy



Joel H. Cyprus



Elizabeth E. Evans

"I Speak For Democracy"

The 1953-54 Voice of Democracy Contest

MORE than a million young Americans in the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico took part in the 1953-54 Voice of Democracy contest. This is the third consecutive year in which the total number of entries from the Nation's public, private, and parochial high schools has passed the million mark.

In this contest there are no losers. All the contestants gain by the experience of considering their democratic form of government and defining the ideals on which this country was founded. All the schools and communities, all the States and Territories, and the Nation as a whole profit by the participation of these young people.

The contest was begun 7 years ago. It was designed to encourage high school boys and girls in the study of their government and the expression of its philosophy, and to further the use of radio and television broadcasting for such expression. Since the contest began, approximately 5 million students have taken part.

In addition to the 5 million contestants, many other students have been stimulated by the contest to think about the meaning of freedom, to clarify their ideas, and to recognize their part in government. They have thus acquired a deeper appreciation of democracy.

Four contestants, a girl and three boys, received tangible awards as in the past. These four were chosen the national win-

ners. Each contestant submitted a 5-minute speech on the subject "I Speak for Democracy." What the winners said has been judged best at the classroom, school, community, State, and national level.

As one of the prizes all the winners received a free trip to Washington, D. C., where they were guests of the cosponsors—the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, the Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association, and the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. At the special awards luncheon in Washington, Dr. Samuel Miller Brownell, United States Commissioner of Education, presided. The Honorable Charles E. Potter, United States Senator from Michigan, presented the awards. Each winner received a \$500 scholarship, a trophy and certificate of merit, and a television set.

While the students were in Washington, they visited the White House, where they were received by President Eisenhower, the Congress, and the Supreme Court.

The 1954 national award winners were Elizabeth E. Evans, 16-year-old junior at the John R. Buchtel High School, Akron, Ohio; Philip M. McCoy, 16-year-old junior at the Argentine High School, Kansas City, Kans.; Joseph H. Gerdes, Jr., 17-year-old senior at Catholic High School, Harrisburg, Pa.; and Joel H. Cyprus, 17-year-old senior at the Senior High School, Wichita Falls, Tex.

Judges in the contest were: Richard L. Bowditch, President, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Dwight Clark, Jr., National Winner, 1951-52 Voice of Democracy Contest; William A. Early, President, National Education Association; Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Speaker, United States House of Representatives; Glen McDaniel, President, Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association; Judge Justin Miller, Chairman of the Board and General Counsel, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters; Thomas F. O'Neil, President, Mutual Broadcasting System; Honorable Ivy Baker Priest, Treasurer of the United States; Ed Sullivan, Master of Ceremonies, CBS television show "Toast of the Town"; Honorable Harold E. Talbott, Secretary of the U. S. Air Force; Mrs. Charles W. Tobey; and Mrs. Charles L. Williams, President, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.

The winning speeches are quoted below.

Elizabeth E. Evans,

John R. Buchtel High School, Akron, Ohio

I AM AN AMERICAN. Listen to my words, Fascist, Communist. Listen well, for my country is a strong country, and my message is a strong message.

I am an American, and I speak for democracy.

My ancestors have left their blood on the green at Lexington and the snow at Valley Forge—on the walls of Fort Sumter and the fields at Gettysburg—on the waters of the River Marne and in the shadows of the Argonne Forest—on the beachheads of Salerno and Normandy and the sands of Okinawa—on the bare, bleak hills called Pork Chop and Old Baldy and Heartbreak Ridge. A million and more of my countrymen have died for freedom.

For my country is their eternal monument. They live on in the laughter of a small boy as he watches a circus clown's antics—and in the sweet, delicious coldness of the first bit of peppermint ice cream on the Fourth of July—in the little tenseness of a baseball crowd as the umpire calls, "batter up!"—and in the high school band's rendition of "Stars and Stripes Forever" in the Memorial Day parade—in the clear, sharp ring of a school bell on a fall morning—and in the triumph of a 6-year-old as he reads aloud for the first time. They live

on in the eyes of an Ohio farmer surveying his acres of corn and potatoes and pasture—and in the brilliant gold of hundreds of acres of wheat stretching across the flat miles of Kansas—in the milling of cattle in the stockyards of Chicago—in the precision of an assembly line in an automobile factory in Detroit—and in the perpetual red glow of the nocturnal skylines of Pittsburgh and Birmingham and Gary.

They live on in the voice of a young Jewish boy saying the sacred words from the Torah: "Hear O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is One. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might,"—and in the voice of a Catholic girl praying: "Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with Thee * * *,"—and in the voice of a Protestant boy singing "A mighty Fortress is our God, A bulwark never failing * * *."

An American named Carl Sandburg wrote these words:

"I know a Jew fisherier down on Maxwell Street—With a voice like a north wind blowing over corn stubble in January * * * His face is that of a man terribly glad to be selling fish, Terribly glad that God made fish, and customers to whom he may call his wares from a pushcart."

There is a voice in the soul of every human being that cries out to be free. America has answered that voice. America has offered freedom and opportunity such as no land before her has ever known, to a Jew fisherier down on Maxwell Street with the face of a man terribly glad to be selling fish. She had given him the right to own his pushcart, to sell his herring on Maxwell Street—she has given him an education for his children, and a tremendous faith in the nation that has made these things his.

Multiply that fisherier by 160,000,000—160,000,000 mechanics and farmers and housewives and coal miners and truck drivers and chemists and lawyers and plumbers and priests—all glad, terribly glad to be what they are, terribly glad to be free to work and eat and sleep and speak and love and pray and live as they desire, as they believe!

And those 160,000,000 Americans—those 160,000,000 free Americans—have more roast beef and mashed potatoes—the yield of American labor and land; more automobiles and telephones, more safety razors and bathtubs, more orlon sweaters and aureomycin, the fruits of American ini-

tiative and enterprise; more public schools and life insurance policies, the symbols of American security and faith in the future; more laughter and song—than any other people on earth!

This is my answer, Fascist, Communist! Show me a country greater than our country, show me a people more energetic, creative, progressive—bigger-hearted and happier than our people, not until then will I consider your way of life. For I am an American, and I speak for democracy.

Joseph H. Gerdes, Jr.,
Harrisburg Catholic High School.
Harrisburg, Pa.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN uttered more than a mere phrase at Gettysburg, when he spoke those now famous words, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." For, every loyal American recognizes that phrase as Lincoln's definition of Democracy.

When he said, "of the people," Lincoln meant that people have the right to govern themselves. In other words, he meant that democratic governments come out "of the people." It is this principle which has made America the "Citadel of Freedom," a place where men willingly cooperate with the law and where the law itself is felt to be in the classic words of Justice Holmes, "the witness and external deposit of our moral life." In America, thank God, we are "citizens," not "subjects."

So, the essence of the American Republic is a recognition of the dignity of manhood in all men. In its foundation this government was an act of supreme confidence in man, a concession, such as never before had been given to human dignity. Its creation was, indeed, a bold experiment, the bravest political act recorded in history. In fact, liberty had never really been understood until it was caught up in a human embrace and embodied in a great and abiding nation.

In the second portion of his definition Lincoln said, "by the people." It was the conviction of the Founding Fathers that all power comes from the Creator through the people, and their desire to safeguard the exercise of that power, not directly by the people in their confused and scattered individualism, but through representatives seated in calm thought and timely research.

(Continued on page 92)

The Nation's School Facilities Survey

by Ray L. Hamon, Chief of the School Housing Section

THE 81st CONGRESS authorized a nationwide survey of public elementary and secondary school facilities pursuant to Title I of Public Law 815. The School Facilities Survey being conducted under this authority is, in fact, a series of State surveys by the State educational agencies in cooperation with the Office of Education and coordinated at the Federal level by the School Housing Section.

To facilitate the gathering of information from the States, the survey was divided into two phases: (1) the first or status phase, and (2) the second or long-range planning phase. Two progress reports on the status phase were published in 1952. The First Progress Report was based on an inventory of public-school facilities in 25 States. The Second Progress Report was based on the needs for additional school facilities in 37 States as of September 1952 and State and local resources available for meeting those needs. The *Report of the Status Phase of the School Facilities Survey*,* issued in December 1953, is based on reports from 43 States. This report absorbs the two progress reports previously published and constitutes a final report on the schoolhousing situation in the United States as revealed by the first or status phase of the School Facilities Survey.

The States are continuing the second or long-range phase of the survey to determine the needs for public elementary and secondary school facilities through the school year 1959-60 which are expected to result from such factors as enrollment increases, shifting population, school district reorganization, and normal replacements. The Office of Education contemplates the publication of a summary report on the second or long-range phase of the School Facilities Survey in the fall of 1954.

**Report of the Status Phase of the School Facilities Survey*, Authorized by Title I, Public Law 815, 81st Congress. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953. Illus. 140 p. Price 70 cents.

When the data reported by 43 States are projected for all States and Territories on the basis of relative public-school enrollments, the 1952 nationwide school plant needs include 312,000 instruction rooms (classrooms, laboratories, and shops) to house 8,881,360 pupils at a cost of \$10.6 billion. Of this amount, \$5.9 billion could be provided from applicable resources, leaving a nationwide deficit of \$4.7 billion.

Unless the tempo of school construction is materially increased, the needs for additional school facilities will continue to grow because of future increases in enrollment. It is obvious that financing practices will have to be improved and that new and substantial resources will have to be tapped on a broadened tax base if American boys and girls are to be provided with adequate school facilities.

Thousands of local school districts are now unable to finance urgently needed school construction. There are, however, ways in which the situation could be improved in some States at the local level by

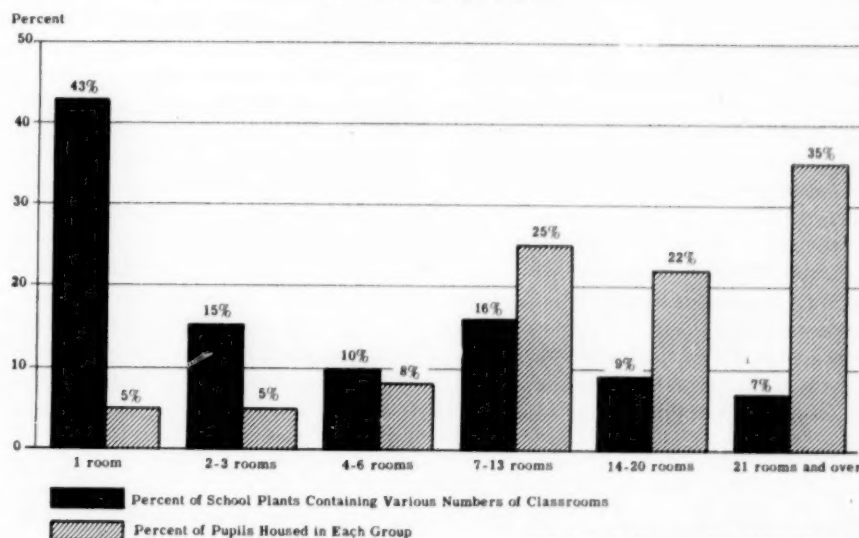
State and/or local action. Even with improvements in the local financing of capital outlay, the provision of adequate schoolhousing will require that States attack the problem on a statewide basis and that a substantial portion of the funds be provided from State sources.

The income payments back of each pupil enrolled in the public schools provide a comparable measure of State ability. The relative ability of the States, thus measured, varies in the ratio of 1 to 5. In 1951, 4 States had income payments of less than \$5,000 per pupil enrolled, as compared to 5 States which had income payments of more than \$13,000 per pupil enrolled.

The chart shown below is reprinted from the Report. It graphically reveals one phase of the current school situation.

The School Facilities Survey will give the Congress and the American people some basic information which is needed if an objective appraisal is to be made of the problem of providing adequate public-school facilities.

Size of School Plants



Research in the Office of Education

by Samuel Miller Brownell, Commissioner of Education*

THE FUNCTIONS of the United States Office have expanded considerably since its establishment in 1867. Today, it administers grants, it facilitates the international exchange of teachers, and it even answers a lot of the President's mail (received from pupils all over the country). But the basic responsibilities laid on it by the original enabling act of 1867 still hold; and one of these purposes is educational research.

The Office of Education can nowise be characterized as holding any particular dogma concerning research method. It could not, in the face of the wide variety of problems it attacks. To illustrate, let me cite some studies either just concluded, or at present under way, or contemplated for the immediate future.

Statistics

In the field of statistics, it has such familiar reports as the *Statistics of State School Systems*, which biennially answers questions on how many pupils there are enrolled; how many teachers are employed; how many basic administrative units there are; the annual expenditure per pupil in the various States; and expenditures for capital outlay, sources of income, and so on. A similar biennial report is available, devoted to city school systems; and still another to higher education.

Annually a detailed report is issued on the number of students enrolled in engineering, and the number of engineering degrees conferred. A special study is being completed this year of the number of Korean veterans studying in higher educational institutions under Public Law 550 (the

Korean GI Bill), and their distribution among the different institutions. And there are other similar statistical reports, too numerous for me to mention at this time.

Administration

In the field of State school administration, a report—prepared cooperatively with the National Council of Chief State School Officers and the Association of School Business Officials of the United States and Canada—has been issued which defines all the items (organizational, personnel, financial, and property) that constitute *The Common Core of State Educational Information*. The State departments have agreed that annually each State should collect data on all of the items in this "Common Core."

Another study in school administration relates to the experience of 17 States in the reorganization of small local school districts into larger units. There are still at least 50,000 small school districts in the United States (mainly in certain States of the Middle West), as you know, and reorganization remains a persistent problem.

Finance

In the field of finance, a monumental report entitled *Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury* has just appeared. This report—prepared with the generous assistance of State departments of education and a volunteer advisory board—shows graphically the variations which exist from one district to another within each State with respect to expenditure per classroom unit, as well as the differences among the States. It appears that the quality of a child's education varies considerably, depending on the town or State in which his parents live. This study should prove of great assistance to the States in the evaluation and

improvement of their plans for financing education.

A typical project in the field of school law is the comprehensive analysis of legislative enactment designed to affect state-wide reorganization of local school administrative units.

The field of school construction is a critical one nowadays. Recently, the School Housing Section of the Office published its report to Congress on the *School Facilities Survey*, financed partly by the Federal Government and partly by the States. This report is a basic reference work on such matters as the age of school buildings in the various States, the types of school construction, the extent of overcrowding, and the prospective needs for new buildings. Two other studies are: an analysis of fund-raising procedures and State and local tax limitations; and an analysis of the body dimensions of school children, an exact knowledge of which is desired by the manufacturers of school furniture.

Elementary Education

In elementary education, a comprehensive descriptive study is being made of social studies textbooks. Another study is inquiring into the practices of teacher-training institutions. The first phase of this study is a follow-up study of graduates.

In secondary education, a major study is nearing completion on the subject of the adaptation of school administration and instruction to rapid and slow learners. The extent to which desirable practices are, or are not, being followed will be ascertained; and, if resources prove adequate, a detailed study of exceptionally satisfactory schools will be undertaken.

Secondary School Curriculum

In the field of secondary curriculum, two studies have been made of the "core curricu-

*Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., before the meeting of the American Educational Research Association at Atlantic City, N. J., February 15, 1954.

ulum": how many schools use it, where these schools are, and the administrative problems of establishing and continuing a successful core program. A curriculum study in the field of high school mathematics has also been completed.

Also in the field of secondary education, the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation is cooperating with the Office of Education in a study of enrollment and teacher-training curriculums in the field of health, education, and recreation.

I am afraid that this long list of research in progress may begin to bore you, but several other important projects should also be mentioned.

Effectiveness of TV

An interesting experimental study is being conducted through Station KUHT, at Houston, Texas, to determine the comparative effectiveness of television versus regular classes in teaching practical nursing for the home. The National Red Cross, the University of Texas, the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, N. J., and the Office of Education are all cooperating in this effort.

In the field of visual education, a descriptive analytic study is being made of the services available to schools through the audio-visual sections of State departments of education.

For Exceptional Children

Thanks to the interest and generosity of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, an excellent study is being conducted, with the aid of the Office, on the qualifications and preparation of teachers of exceptional children. The participation of cooperating agencies in this study has been so cordial and active that eventual practical application of the findings from the study seems assured.

The Guidance and Pupil-Personnel Section of the Office has two studies under way: one on the content and method of university preparation of school counselors; the other, on the extent and causation of high-school dropouts.

The Division of Vocational Education in the Office of Education also conducts some research. For example, careful track is kept of the supply and demand for vocational agriculture teachers (at present, the supply is short). The Home Economics

Branch is developing evaluative instruments for use in appraising college and secondary school programs in home economics. The Trade and Industry Branch is making a survey of trade school graduates in the Middle West during the 5-year period that ended in 1952.

The Division of International Education has just completed a study of education in Pakistan. Another inquiry by this Division of the Office seeks to identify the colleges and universities in the United States which give courses in comparative education and in the new field known as area studies.

The Division of Higher Education has numerous research projects under way. One is a study of the costs that students incur in going to college. Another is a study of cooperative, or work-study, education in the United States. Still another study will determine at what stages in their careers students drop out of college, and some of the factors related to their withdrawal.

General Education

With respect to general education, a continuous supply of information is being collected regarding new developments in this field. The current role of liberal education in professional curriculums for pharmacy, engineering, architecture, and forestry is being pictured in a series of bulletins. An entire volume on professional education in the United States, covering all the recognized professions, is nearing completion.

Consultative Services

In many of the fields that I have mentioned, bibliographies of recent studies have been prepared by staff members of the Office. Advisory and consultative services are also extended, on request, to school systems and organizations interested in research.

If you will think back on the variety of projects that I have mentioned, you will recall that the studies range from elementary school through graduate professional training. The fields which are covered include statistics, administration, school finance, school housing, school law, curriculum, teacher preparation, teaching methods, special education, guidance, vocational education, international education, and higher education. All of these studies involve, to some extent, research. The

kind, the level, and the amount of research involved vary greatly. The bulk of it is fact collection, organization, and interpretation.

Fact Research

This is in keeping with the mandate of the act establishing the Office of Education for—among other things—the purpose of collecting “such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories * * *.”

Some of you may question whether fact-finding *per se* is in fact research. Research, of course, can be variously defined. I think of research as involving the recognition of a problem area; the definition of the problem; the design of procedures giving promise of clues or final answers to the problem; the collection of information (by observation, experimentation, interviews, tests, questionnaires, records, or whatever method); the compilation and analysis of the data; the interpretation of the data; and then the rigid checking and testing of these interpretations to be certain of their validity, reliability, and overall soundness. (Parenthetically, it is in this last checking that I fear researchers are frequently lax. It is always a problem in the Office of Education, where the pressure is great, to get studies released.)

Understanding and Solution

Of course, there are all sorts of fact-finding, from counting the hairs on a head to making a crucial measurement in a physical experiment. As you know, the problems are complex in experimental research in the social sciences. Essential to such research is fact-finding. It is pertinent and basic to the understanding and solution of many problems in American education.

Now, as to the research methods employed at the Office of Education. Of course, such usual techniques are used as questionnaires, field observation, interviews, case studies, historical and legal research, and occasionally, when the subject matter or opportunity is appropriate, actual experimentation.

The Conference

One outstanding feature is emphasis on the understanding and cooperation of other organizations and governmental units. This

(Continued on page 90)

Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury

EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION AT THE MIDCENTURY,* a new Office of Education report, reveals extreme variations in the amount, and perhaps the quality of the schooling the children of the United States receive. Educators, superintendents, members of boards of education, citizen committees, and legislators alike will find a wealth of information to aid in evaluating and improving the effectiveness of State and local plans for financing education.

Every 10 Years

This report adheres to the Office plan of publishing information on average expenditures per classroom unit at 10-year intervals. Such a plan appeared advisable in view of the usefulness of the two previous reports, which showed expenditures for the years 1929-30 and 1939-40. The 1949-50 study was conducted and the report prepared by Clayton D. Hutchins, Office of Education specialist in school finance, and Albert R. Munse, research assistant. Dr. Eugene S. Lawler, professor of education at Florida State University, was engaged as consultant, and a 6-member Advisory Committee included persons associated with the previous studies.

From figures submitted by State departments of education, the report presents what is believed to be a complete coverage of current expenditures per classroom unit for all of the 63,277 school districts that employed teachers during the 1949-50 school year. Also included are data for each of the 125 operating school districts in the outlying parts of the United States. The report presents a profile chart for the United States and for each State and outlying part of the United States to show the numbers of classroom units supported at various expenditure levels.

*Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953. Misc. No. 18. 136 p., including 79 charts and 35 tables. Price 65 cents.

The United States in 1949-50 spent a total of \$4,143,857,951 for its current expenses applying to classrooms. This is an impressive figure, yet *Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury* reports that more than \$600,000,000 in additional expenditure would have been required to raise all low classrooms up to the national median level of \$4,391 per classroom unit.

Expenditures varied from State to State and within each State. The State median expenditures ranged from \$1,451 for Mississippi to \$7,627 for New York. Some boards of education were able to expend 40 times as much as others. These differences are especially significant when interpreted in association with the presumption that there is a substantial relationship between expenditures for education and the amount and quality of educational services.

Why Expenditures Vary

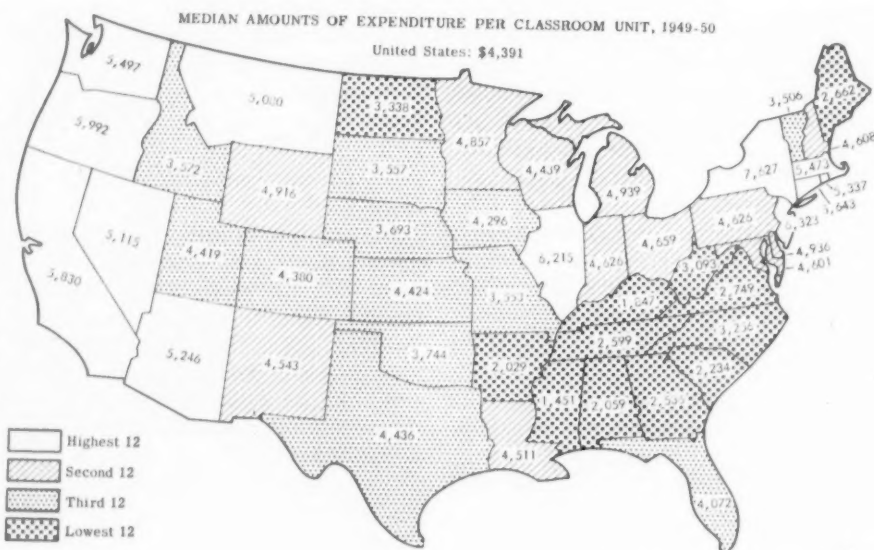
Many States have so-called "Foundation Programs" for the support of public education, which define a basic level of expend-

iture assured for every child or classroom. Although these programs have been operating for some years, the profile charts show that many classrooms in 1949-50 were still supported at indefensibly low levels.

There are several reasons for the great variations in these expenditures. The three most important appear to be differences in the educational load, in the supply of funds for the support of schools, and in the interests and efforts of the people in planning and financing local educational services.

Those States which have a high birthrate, many small school districts, sparsely populated areas with relatively few children, or a firm compulsory attendance law have the greatest educational load when measured in terms of classroom units. In States with greater densities of population, the corresponding measure of educational load appears lighter. This same analysis might be applied at the local district level. For over half of the Nation's children who were attending schools during 1949-50 in large

(Continued on page 95)



Education of Negroes: Progress and Present Status in the Segregated Pattern

by Ambrose Caliver, Assistant to the Commissioner, and Emery M. Foster, Head, Reports and Analysis

Education for Salvation and Freedom

During the early days of slavery in America, Christian missionaries were influential in starting the custom of teaching the slaves to read and write. This was particularly true among the French, Spanish, and German settlers. Their main purpose was the propagation of the gospel among the heathen of the new world.

The education of slaves of the English settlers did not advance as rapidly as among other settlers. The reason was an "unwritten law that no Christian could be held a slave," according to the Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education (1871, p. 352). The dilemma was resolved by "provincial statutes and formal declarations by the Bishop of London to the effect that conversion did not work manumission." Systematic efforts to enlighten the slaves began as early as 1695. By about the middle of the 18th century, it is reported that in Accomack County, Va., "as many as 400 or 500 families were instructing their slaves at home and had their children catechized on Sunday."

Of all the sects interested in enlightening the Negroes, the Quakers were the most effective and earnest. It was they who first registered protest against slavery in Protestant America. They also extended their concept of education to include preparation for citizenship as well as Christianity. Their aggressiveness in implementing this concept, particularly in the northern colonies, coupled with a few slave uprisings in the southern colonies, culminated in the enactment of laws in several States against the teaching of Negroes, either slaves or freedmen.

However, another force which was gathering strength and momentum was destined not only to clash with the opponents of slave enlightenment, but also to challenge the

entire slave system; this was the spirit of freedom which resulted in the American Revolution and finally in the emancipation of the slaves. Many of the Founding Fathers and their associates, including Adams, Wythe, Mason, Washington, Jefferson, Jay, Swan, Hopkins, and Franklin, favored a policy not only of suppressing the slave trade and emancipating the slaves, but also of educating them for a life of freedom.

Some of the revolutionary literature, both in America and from Europe fell into the hands of the slaves and freedmen who had learned to read. In addition, abolitionist literature grew in amount and intensity in its attack on slavery. It was inevitable that the ideas thus disseminated should be eagerly grasped by Negroes, and that literacy—the channel of communicating the ideas—should be eagerly sought. Thus, in spite of laws making the education of Negroes a crime, punishable by the severest penalties, many of them succeeded in securing the rudiments of knowledge. Much of this was accomplished by stealth and cunning, with the aid of those who had managed to learn, and sometimes with the connivance of white persons, including some slaveholders. So, by the time of Emancipation, it is estimated that about 5 percent of the Negroes were literate.

The first article of this series¹ attempted to set forth the present posture of the school segregation issue. In this article, we shall give a brief review of the progress of Negro education from the pre-Civil-War days to the present, with suggestions of its relation to the issue of segregation.

¹ Caliver, Ambrose, "Education of Negroes, Segregation Issue Before the Supreme Court," *SCHOOL LIFE*, vol. 36 (February 1954).

Educational Ups and Downs

The beginning of the Civil War was the signal for unleashing the pent-up desire of Negroes for education. Schools followed in the wake of the Union Armies. Northern missionary zeal, enlightened determination of army officers, and eagerness of Negroes to learn, brought about the organization of schools almost immediately after the Union forces established themselves in any territory. The Freedmen's Bureau, established by Congress in 1866, considered education to be one of its major functions. As indicated in the previous article, what the Bureau did with respect to the education of Negroes largely served as a foundation for the public school systems later established in the South.

Public education at that time was not popular even for the whites. It should also be kept in mind that the war had brought poverty, suffering, and disorganization to the entire southern region. The Bureau, therefore, provided a kind of protection and an atmosphere of security, as well as financial assistance for those attempting to enlighten the Negroes. Negroes themselves played an important role in this educational activity and in bringing about the gains achieved. Five States had Negro State superintendents of education.

The report of the Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1867 showed that the freedmen were appreciating the value of education and willing, when able, to pay for it; and that in this, as in other matters, they were making rapid strides toward entire self-support.

A sizable group of "moderate" southerners and large plantation owners accepted the facts of the new order. They realized the value of some education for Negroes not only that they might make a more reliable labor force, but also that they might

(Continued on page 93)

How To Obtain U. S. G

by Seerley Reid, Chief, Visual Education Service, Office of E

The following chart explains how to borrow, rent, and purchase those motion pictures and filmstrips of the U. S. Government which v e

U. S. Government Agency	Kind of Films ¹	How to Borrow or Rent Films ²	How to Purchase Films	For Further Information Write to
Department of Agriculture	300 motion pictures and 160 filmstrips—on agriculture, conservation, forestry, home economics, and related subjects.	Borrow from State extension services and from regional offices and other film depositories of the Department. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 191 motion pictures from United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y. Purchase filmstrips from Photo Lab., 3825 Georgia Ave., Washington 11, D. C.	U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Information, Motion Picture Service, Washington 25, D. C.
Department of the Air Force	150 motion pictures and 70 filmstrips—70 public information and 150 training films on various aviation subjects.	Borrow public information films from the Air Force, training films from the CAA. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 69 motion pictures and 30 filmstrips from UWF. Other films not for sale.	U. S. Department of Defense, Office of Public Information, Washington 25, D. C.
Department of the Army	725 motion pictures and 90 filmstrips—65 public information, 250 medical, and 500 training films on various subjects.	Borrow public information films from the Army, medical films from the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington 25, D. C. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 442 motion pictures and 43 filmstrips from UWF. Other films not for sale.	U. S. Department of Defense, Office of Public Information, Washington 25, D. C.
Civil Aeronautics Administration (Department of Commerce)	7 motion pictures and 3 filmstrips—on aviation subjects. (Note: The CAA also distributes several hundred Air Force and Navy films dealing with aviation.)	Borrow from CAA Washington and regional offices. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 6 motion pictures and 3 filmstrips from UWF. Other film not for sale.	U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Washington 25, D. C.
Coast Guard (Department of the Treasury)	40 motion pictures and 45 filmstrips—15 public information and 70 training films on various subjects related to the Coast Guard and its operations.	Borrow public information films from Coast Guard Washington and district offices. Rent training films from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 29 motion pictures and all filmstrips from UWF. Other films not for sale.	U. S. Coast Guard, Office of Public Information, Washington 25, D. C.
Department of Defense	50 motion pictures—about the Armed Forces.	Borrow from the Army, Navy, and Air Force film libraries.	Purchase 34 films from UWF.	U. S. Department of Defense, Office of Public Information, Washington 25, D. C.
Office of Education (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)	484 motion pictures and 432 filmstrips—on machine shop practices, woodworking skills, and other industrial and vocational training subjects.	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase from UWF.	U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.
Corps of Engineers (Department of the Army)	80 motion pictures—on rivers and harbors, flood control, and hydroelectric power.	Borrow from district offices of the Corps of Engineers.	Not for sale.	U. S. Department of the Army, Corps of Engineers, Washington 25, D. C.
Fish and Wildlife Service (Department of the Interior)	20 motion pictures—on commercial fisheries and on wildlife conservation.	Borrow from FWS or from FWS film depositories.	Purchase 6 motion pictures from UWF. Apply to FWS to buy other films.	U. S. Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, P. O. Box 128, College Park, Md.
Bureau of Indian Affairs (Department of the Interior)	20 motion pictures—about Indians and Indian life.	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase from U. S. Indian School, Intermountain School, Brigham City, Utah.	U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington 25, D. C.

¹ See also "3,434 U. S. Government Films," Bulletin 1951; No. 21, compiled by the USOE Visual Education Service and distributed by Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price: 70 cents.

Government Films, 1954

of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

which were available for public use in the United States on January 1, 1954. Agencies with fewer than 10 such films have been omitted.

U. S. Government Agency	Kind of Films ¹	How to Borrow or Rent Films ²	How to Purchase Films	For Further Information Write to
Institute of Inter-American Affairs (Foreign Operations Administration)	45 motion pictures—on health and agriculture—with English, Portuguese, and Spanish commentaries.	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase from IIAA.	Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Washington 25, D. C.
Office of Inter-American Affairs (terminated in 1946)	11 motion pictures on Latin America; 5 on Ohio.	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have acquired prints.	Purchase 68 films from UWF, 48 films from IIAA.	U. S. Information Agency, Washington 25, D. C.
Marine Corps (Department of the Navy)	25 motion pictures—for public information and recruiting.	Borrow from Marine Corps district offices.	Purchase 7 films from UWF.	U. S. Marine Corps, Office of Public Information, Washington 25, D. C.
Bureau of Mines (Department of the Interior)	60 motion pictures—on mining and metallurgical industries and natural resources of various States.	Borrow from Bureau of Mines, 4800 Forbes St., Pittsburgh 13, Pa., or from USBM film depositories.	Not for sale.	U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, Office of Mineral Reports, Washington 25, D. C.
Foreign Operations Administration	40 motion pictures—about U. S. aid to Europe and economic recovery in European countries.	Borrow from FOA film depositories.	Not for sale.	Foreign Operations Administration, Audio-Visual Branch, Washington 25, D. C.
Department of the Navy	565 motion pictures and 200 filmstrips—45 public information and 720 training films on various subjects.	Borrow public information films from the Navy, aviation training films from the CAA. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 532 motion pictures and 161 filmstrips from UWF. Other films not for sale.	U. S. Department of Defense, Office of Public Information, Washington 25, D. C.
National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics	20 motion pictures—on technical aeronautical subjects.	Borrow from NACA.	Obtain authorization from NACA.	National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, Washington 25, D. C.
Public Health Service (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare)	130 motion pictures and 150 filmstrips—on public health and medical subjects.	Borrow from PHS (if professional groups) or from State and local health departments. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase 78 motion pictures and 57 filmstrips from UWF. Other films not for sale.	U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, Washington 25, D. C.
U. S. Information Agency	45 motion pictures—on American life (produced for overseas use).	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase from UWF.	U. S. Information Agency, Washington 25, D. C.
Veterans Administration	60 motion pictures and 6 filmstrips—mostly on medical subjects, some on VA activities and programs.	Borrow from VA.	Purchase 39 motion pictures from UWF. Other films not for sale.	Veterans Administration, VA Central Film Library, Washington 25, D. C.
Office of War Information, Domestic Branch (terminated in 1945)	32 motion pictures—on World War II activities.	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have acquired prints.	Purchase 30 films from UWF.	U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.
Office of War Information, Overseas Branch (terminated in 1945)	13 motion pictures—on American life (produced for overseas use).	Not for loan. Rent from 16-mm. film libraries that have purchased prints.	Purchase from UWF.	U. S. Information Agency, Washington 25, D. C.

² See "A Directory of 2,660 16-mm Film Libraries," Bulletin 1953; No. 7, compiled by the USOE Visual Education Service and distributed by Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price: 50 cents.

Research in the Office of Education

(Continued from page 85)

is so that the studies undertaken will be directed to their needs and that besides "picking their brains" the results will be used by these groups. The most common means toward attaining this understanding and cooperation is the conference.

To the extent that educational organizations, like the NEA and the AERA, have their headquarters in Washington, such conferences can be held at little cost. Usually, however, it is necessary to call in representatives from all parts of the United States.

When all is said and done, the U. S. Office of Education is a small organization. Its budget for salaries and expenses comes to about \$2,000,000. That is less than sixteen one-thousandths of 1 percent of what is currently being spent for education in the United States; and much of this small budget, of course, is devoted to the administration of grants, as well as to research.

Basic Principles

With such limited resources, it has been necessary systematically to restrict the range of research. Thus in the selection of research projects for the Office, the following principles are considered basic:

1. The Office must first of all carry out the mandates of Congress. Some of these mandates are specific. Title I of Public Law 815 specifically required the Office to cooperate with the States in a School Facilities Survey. Some of the mandates are moderately specific. The enabling act of 1867 requires the collection and diffusion of "such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories." Some of the mandates are quite broad; for example, the mandate to "otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." Naturally, the specific mandates have a certain priority over the general or broad, other things being equal.

2. As a second principle, it seems clear that priority should be given to those fields of studies where the Office can make a

unique, or almost unique, contribution. Nationwide statistical fact-gathering is one such field. Fact-finding research relating to national educational legislation is another. The organization of national conferences on research problems is still another.

3. As a third principle, the Office of Education should, in general, emphasize studies of national significance and coverage.

4. As a fourth principle, the Office should engage in research which provides or facilitates appropriate comparisons among the different States, cities, school districts, colleges, etc. Some one has said that "comparison is the method of science." It is also fundamental to intelligent legislation and administration.

5. The U. S. Office, through its central position at the National Capital and its freedom from local bias or predilections, is in a unique position to call conferences at which research coordination and cooperation can be effected. The conference method has been used in connection with a study of dropouts in high schools in 20 large cities, and in connection with a study of the costs of going to college—to mention only two.

6. Finally, of course, there is the problem of selecting those research subjects that are of greatest importance, that hold the most promise of solution, and which also fit the available staff and resources of the Office. It is a goal of the Office to achieve a systematic, sustained program addressed to national problems in the field of education, with sufficient flexibility of program to permit adaptations to emerging needs and problems.

Educational research, as we conceive it at the Office of Education, does not consist merely in "running an experiment" or "doing a survey" and publishing the results. A good deal of social responsibility is involved, in the first instance, in deciding whether to apply the limited resources to, say, a study of the salaries of beginning teachers versus a study of the educational handicaps of migrant children. After the choice of a problem and suitable delimitation—a matter of judgment and often a matter of compromise as well—the organizational and personal aspects have to be tackled and ironed out as best one can.

Education, as we know, is blessed with

many organizations (and I really mean "blessed"). Wherever practical, we try to elicit the interest and support of all appropriate organizations, so that they may contribute toward the development of a sound and feasible research pattern, stimulate the cooperation of their members, and then help use the results of research.

In addition to relations with the educational associations, we must also consider relations with other governmental units: the State departments of education; interested city school systems; and other Federal agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture (in rural education), the Children's Bureau (in work on delinquency), and the Bureau of the Census (regarding certain statistics).

Need for Leadership

For the most part these working relationships are constructive and helpful, but like all other human affairs, they require care and consideration on both sides. The same applies to the selection of staff to conduct the research. Since little of the research at the Office of Education is strictly a one-man affair, the best results require a high order of leadership as well as the loyalty and cooperation of a team. This combination of qualities is not always easy to attain.

Assume that a research project has been successfully conducted and a report prepared. Is the Office through? Certainly not. The next step is to make sure that the report reaches its proper audience. The emphasis in OE research has advisedly been toward securing information that has some immediate practical implications.

Practical Value

In the Office of Education, the authors of research have an important advisory and consultative responsibility in helping to put their research to work in practical educational situations. Great resourcefulness and patience may be required to persuade the public of the desirability of the application, special efforts may be needed to raise the necessary funds, a keen instinct for "timing" may be called for, and inexhaustible administrative energy may be needed to eliminate unforeseen practical "bugs." These are tasks for the administrator, not the researcher.

But the researcher should help interpret the meaning and adaptability of his research findings to the administrator. In

general, I think it essential that the research team not merely "remain available" for advice and consultation, but that some energy and thought be devoted to the problem of making sure that advice and consultation will be *called for* when and where it is needed.

This will be salutary not only for the administrators, but also for the researchers, who will doubtless observe certain unforeseen limitations of their research when it is put to the test of operating reality.

What I am saying, briefly, is that research of an agency such as OE must not end with a report. It should end in *actual contact* with the problems to which it is addressed, in *actual service* in application. I cannot, of course, say that research at the Office of Education has always achieved this contact or service. I can say, however, that it appreciates the need for this kind of follow-through, and the sequence of educational research of the OE is not considered complete until this last step has been taken.

Impact on Education

I wish that I could give you, at this time, a neat and precise résumé of the impact that the research of the Office of Education has had upon American education, but this is impossible. Education is a complex social institution, subject to manifold influences.

We do know, to be sure, that its reports are in demand, that some of them receive thoughtful consideration by many State, local, and higher-education authorities. We know that one of the studies moved a foundation to supply funds for faculty fellowships, at a time when higher educational enrollments were dropping and there were prospects, at some institutions, of some serious reductions in the number of faculty members.

We do know that proposed changes in educational benefits under Public Law 550 are awaiting final returns from a survey launched by the Office at the end of last October. We do know that there is keen interest among leaders in special education in a study on the qualifications and preparation of teachers of special education. And we do know that when one of the regular or recurring studies is for some reason delayed, we receive inquiries about and rebukes for the delay. We cannot doubt, in short, that research at the Office of Education is having its impact.

Yet I want to admit some gaps and short-

comings, too. Perhaps the most common complaint about the studies of the Office is that they are slow in completion. This has been true in the past. It is less true now, though slowness continues to be one of our main problems. In part, however, slowness is the price we must pay for adequacy of response and completeness of inquiry. It would be relatively easy, for example, to issue a postcard inquiry to State departments of education and to publish results as soon as returns were received from, say, the first 30 States. Instead, the State departments are given a 24- or 30-page questionnaire, and we try to insist on returns from *all* the States. Not all the States are prompt; and sometimes, truth to tell, conditions at the Office do not always permit *it* to be prompt. The Office has registered some successes in this matter of speed, as well as failures.

As I have surveyed the educational needs of the country in relation to the program of the OE (in the short time that I have been there), it has seemed to me that the strengthening of educational research in and by the Office is one of the important contributions that is proper and possible. It is my considered judgment that unless we, as a country, devote money and talent to research in education in a significant way, we cannot hope to have education keep pace with the demands of society which is spending huge sums on research in health and medicine, science, agriculture, business procedures and technology, war and defense, and thereby is improving ~~us~~ processes and products at a prodigious rate. This research in education—one of the Nation's greatest enterprises—calls for the expenditure of public funds for it. It cannot be solely dependent on foundation grants or fringe resources from professional organizations. Nor do I think that we will make very great strides by limiting research to the collection, analysis, and dissemination of the fact type which largely, of necessity, characterizes most of the OE research. Looking at the situation then, it seems to me that a number of things can be done by the OE to be a more constructive force in educational research for the Nation. As a result, we have taken some steps.

The first is to request funds to provide technical and personnel assistance to process data more rapidly and thereby make more of the fact-finding research of the Office contemporary and less of it historical.

The second is to stimulate more research on problems of national significance where the great research resources lie—the colleges, universities, city and State school systems, and other nonprofit agencies interested in education, through the matching fund type of cooperative research. This will, we hope, not only make national funds available but stimulate State and local funds for educational research.

Task Force Studies

The third is to propose inaugurating a systematic program of task force studies of major problems of national significance to education. Presumably one such study would be undertaken each year and would take from 2 to 3 years. These studies would presumably pull together the many contributory research findings available, add new research findings, and synthesize them on each study. This continuous, systematic attack on such problems would mean that as the years progressed there would be made available to educators and laymen a series of significant and authoritative research studies, interpreting research, and undoubtedly suggesting further research on these problems. As proposed, a lay advisory board would recommend the studies they considered most important to be undertaken; the task force would be professional educators and research personnel. The lay board would also have continuity so as to recommend appropriate follow-up on study reports.

Much important, significant, and needed research in education cannot and should not be done by or under the direction of the U. S. Office of Education because it would or might interfere with local and State functions. But much more can be done and needs to be done by the Office to be of service to all 48 States and their localities.

Gibraltar of Education

I regard research as the Gibraltar of education—as an essential basis for sound progress. I feel sure that the members of this association share my feelings in this respect.

If the Office moves ahead to serve American education as we all hope it will, its research activities and relationships will be increasingly important. The leadership and cooperation of this organization also will be a large factor in how successful the Office is in this respect.

"I Speak for Democracy"

(Continued from page 82)

The masses are not experts in the solution of complicated problems. But, they can delegate their problems to lawmakers of their choice, men in whose qualities and experience they have confidence. And, Americans know that if they don't like a particular law, in due course they can change it. That is the privilege of the American people, they can change their laws and their government without ever meaning to change the republic.

In concluding his definition Lincoln said, "for the people." Well, certainly American Democracy has produced better results than any other form of government in history. Our high standards of living and education, our medical care, our freedoms are the envy of every nation on the face of this globe. At the same time the United States has become the most powerful country in the world, more powerful than the realm of any Caesar or Czar, ancient or modern, while remaining at the same time a community, preserving the neighborly qualities of its origin.

While the greatness of America is her democracy, the peril of America is also her democracy, for danger can come from the misuse of freedom. Democracy must not, therefore, be permitted to struggle alone for its existence; it needs the best that men can give it.

May our hearts beat with a love for our Republic; our tongues chant its praises with eloquence; may our hands be ready to work for it and defend it; and may we never forget the legend engraved on the base of the Statue of Liberty:

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me; I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

That, my friends, is the "Voice of Democracy."

Philip M. McCoy,
Argentine High School,
Kansas City, Kans.

I am democracy.

I was planted as a seed in the minds of men by God himself.

I blossomed forth into a world of tyranny and unhappiness.

In the minds of some, I was just a passing fancy, but in others I became a dream, an obsession.

I was tried in Athens, speculated upon by Plato and Aristotle, obliterated by the Caesars and crushed by feudal lords and kings during the Middle Ages.

In the 18th century I became an actuality in a struggling, youthful country where men sought true freedom.

For 175 years this country has been my home.

I have lived in magnificent buildings in Washington, D. C., and in tiny houseboats along the Mississippi. I have flourished in every classroom in the Nation. I have dwelt in beautiful green parks where families are free to rest and play as they wish. I have lived in newspaper offices where editors prepare daily editorials. I have lived in the voting polls where men choose their leaders.

I have not been contained within the

covers of musty books nor held on a faded parchment beneath an air-tight glass case.

Wherever there are men who seek me, there must I be.

Unless I am a part of the very lives of those whom I serve, I shall become a useless word.

Every day men throughout the world make great sacrifices for me. Many times men have given their lives that I might live.

How it hurts to see men die for my sake. How small and useless I feel as I watch those who love me prepare arms for war because of this love.

There are many things which make me realize how great a task lies ahead—an overcrowded school, an empty church, a broken home.

I shudder when I see a sign "Whites Only" or a family Bible covered with dust.

Then I wonder—how can I make the people see that I cannot be worn as a glove on a cold hand, that I cannot be turned off and on like an electric light; but that I can exist only as long as men have a sincere de-

The Words of Two Americans

Excerpts from remarks of Samuel Miller Brownell, United States Commissioner of Education, at the luncheon honoring the four high school winners of the Seventh Annual Voice of Democracy Contest in Washington, D. C., February 24, 1954.

I should like to quote the words of two Americans. One, a naturalized American and one proud to be one of us in the United States, said these words just about a year ago:

*"Heading the privileges my country gives me are the right to express my personal opinion, the right to write what I think and to worship in the way I believe. Because only through these rights can my country grow in knowledge and strength. I am, as is every American, proud and happy to be able to be of some service to the United States, because the reward is tremendous. Yet, I try never to belittle other countries, since they are important to the success and happiness of our own. Since that day, three years ago when I became a citizen, I have been and still am proud to say that I am an American * * *"*

The other American said recently:

"The wealth we may accumulate, the public prestige we may enjoy, the social position we may obtain, are all meaningless in the long vista of time, unless all are made to serve the cause of human dignity and freedom. What value dollars, or acclaim, or position in a world where justice, opportunity, and freedom are lost to us by force, by subversion, or by our own neglect?"

The first American I have quoted was 14-year-old Adelaide Nacamu, of Peekskill, New York, who was born in Milan, Italy. Her words are from Adelaide's "Voice of Democracy" presentation which made her a national winner last year. They are words, like those you will hear from this year's national winners, that represent the true voice of democracy and of American youth.

The second American I have quoted is President Eisenhower. His words, taken from a recent address delivered at Defiance College, also have deep significance for us today. They represent the thinking and leadership of an American whose words stand as the symbolic "voice of democracy" and the hope for all freedom-loving peoples throughout the world.

sire to live happily and peacefully with their neighbors.

Yet, how often I am filled with joy and gladness.

Millions of youth stand and pledge their loyalty to flag, to country and to God.

On street corners, in barbershops, over back fences, people in two's and three's discuss freely their views on politics and government.

Sixty-one million persons go to the polls and vote according to their own ideas and opinions.

Then I realize that all is not lost. I see that the future is not a black cloud hanging over the earth. I know that men will live together in peace and prosperity, that some day the world will indeed be one world.

For I have become a part of the very beings of men, and as long as men have hearts and minds and souls, I shall live. For I am Democracy!

Joel H. Cyprus

Wichita Falls Senior High School,
Wichita Falls, Tex.

WHO ARE YOU? Yes, you. I am but a voice, but you are a living person, a human being. And you can answer me. You have no fear; you are not ashamed. You hold your head up high and say proudly, "I am Bill Smith. I am a Catholic."

Or your neighbor may say, "I am Saul Greenburg. I am a Jew." The couple down the street may answer, "We're the Robinsons. We are Christians."

And here I, the voice, begin to wonder. What is this? I speak into a microphone and ask a simple question like "Who are you?" and get back three completely different answers from three neighbors. How can this be? People as different as they are cannot function as a unit. And yet I see that an entire nation is formed of these diverse people. Indeed, I have good cause for wondering.

I ask another question: "Which political party do you favor?" And again, I receive answers like "the Democratic," "the Republican," "any reform party," "the party with the best ideas, no matter which one it may be." Again, too, I wonder. This is also impossible. Such opposing political views cannot live together in a single nation. Yet I look around and see that they can and do.

I try a third question: "How much money do you earn?" And for the third time each answer is different. They range from "\$20 per week" to "\$250 million a year." I can see no sense, yet I can see a nation.

Again in my quest of knowledge I try a question: "Where were you born?" "England," "Texas," "Germany," "Outer Mongolia," "Brooklyn," "Timbuktu," "South Africa . . ." The answers stream on and on. A nation with people from all over the world? Impossible! But an impossibility come true.

I continue my search, asking question after question. I seek something that holds this Nation together. And then, suddenly, it comes . . . the key to the whole affair: Quite innocently, I ask the question, "What are you?" And instead of a great deluge of answers come just one.

"I am an American. I believe in Democracy. I am satisfied to let the opinion of the majority of the people govern my actions."

At last, I find my answer. Finally, I know. There is a simple explanation. Or is it so simple?

Two men hold opposing religious, political, and financial views. Yet these same two men are willing to work together to sponsor the homecoming dance for the local football team. These same two men meet casually on the street, and greet each other as closest friends. One of these men has his house burn down, and the other offers to help shelter his family until they find a new place to live. They cooperate to the fullest measure, and then we say that the answer is simply, "They are Americans."

And we are right!

It is their idea of principles and their idea of majority rule that makes America succeed. They believe that if the other fellow is down, he should be helped back up; and they believe that regardless of their views, if the majority involved favor something, it must be carried out.

My first question was all wrong. Rather than "Who are you?", I should have asked, "What are you?" I would have gotten my answer immediately, for I would have heard a unanimous uproar, "We are America."

Oh, yes, just one more thing. You may be wondering, "Who am I?" I am the intangible. I have been flattering myself with my little quest for knowledge. For you see, I . . . I AM THE VOICE OF DEMOCRACY.

Education for Negroes

(Continued from page 87)

be better prepared for their new status as freedmen and for the duties of citizenship. The combination of all these groups and forces, in addition to the aid of northern missionaries and politicians, helped tremendously to advance the education of Negroes. By 1880 Negro enrollment had reached over 700,000. By 1900 over a million and a half Negro children were enrolled in public elementary schools, and 5,000 in public high schools. Private schools enrolled 22,000 Negro elementary and 13,000 high school pupils.

By the beginning of the Civil War, it is estimated that about 66 Negroes had graduated from college. During the next 20 years the number graduating from college is estimated at 313; and during the next decade, 738.

This encouraging progress may be attributed not only to the great desire of Negroes for education, but also to the fact that the Reconstruction legislatures had established the principle of equal distribution of school funds between the two races. After the conservative whites of the South regained power, the trend toward equality began to be reversed. "Despite the rapid increase in enrollment (of both Negroes and whites), the educational funds available were strictly limited * * * by the conservative legislatures immediately after Reconstruction. * * * The first result was an actual decrease in educational revenue and a consequent decrease in school enrollment."² Since the limited school funds were inadequate for the hordes of children (white and colored) clamoring for an education, according to Bond, the first solution was to divert school funds from Negro to white children.³

By 1900 the pattern had been firmly set. School statistics show that the pattern of discrimination continued for nearly a half century. In 1896, the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* railroad accommoda-

² Bond, Horace Mann, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934, p. 89.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

tions case. The theory underlying this decision that separate but equal facilities did not violate the Constitution gave the highest governmental sanction to the pattern of segregation, which is now challenged before the Court.

Philanthropy Aids the South

Many persons contended that the discriminatory school practices which prevailed under this governmental sanction of "separate but equal" would inevitably result in inferior education for Negroes. The low cultural level on which Negroes have lived has definitely been related to the kind of education they have received. In spite of their tremendous social and economic progress, the masses are still far behind the rest of the population. Their lack of civic effectiveness, the high proportion of their workers who are unskilled, their high sickness and death rates, the instability of their homes, and their shorter life span are all closely connected with their inadequate educational opportunities. Although there has been a miraculous growth in literacy among them, nearly a third of the Negro adult population is still functionally illiterate (that is, they have not advanced beyond the fourth grade).

Many elements in the South were disturbed by the plight of the Negroes just described. But try as hard as they might, the Negroes could not lift themselves by their own bootstraps. Outside help and stimulation were needed. That help started in 1898 with the Conference for Education in the South. The General Education Board, organized in 1902, stimulated and supported the State supervisors of Negro schools. In 1908 the Jeanes Fund started a system of supervisory aid for Negro rural schools. The Slater Fund assisted the organization and improvement of Negro rural high schools. The Julius Rosenwald Fund helped to build schoolhouses; and the Carnegie Corporation assisted in the development of libraries and the preparation of teachers. Among the more significant things done by the Phelps-Stokes Fund was the financing of the comprehensive survey made by Thomas Jesse Jones in 1915 and 1916 under the supervision of the then U. S. Bureau of Education.

The Gap Begins To Close

Table I shows the progress made in the education of Negroes in eight States in

Table I.—Percent that average salaries of white teachers exceed those of Negro teachers

State	1911	1936	1940	1950
Alabama	124	116	113.1	16.5
Florida	81	109	96.2	15.6
Georgia	167	151	128.7	23.8
Kentucky	4	32	63.4
Louisiana	231	131	135.2	29.6
North Carolina	66	49	39.3	-1.7
South Carolina	202	173	156.9	41.8
Virginia	87	73	63.1

Source: Data for 1911 are from Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 38, 1916, by Thomas Jesse Jones. Data for 1936 are from U. S. Office of Education Bulletin No. 13, 1938, by Blose and Calver; data for 1940 and 1950 from Statistics of State School Systems, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, Chapter 2, 1950.

teachers' salaries. The trend toward closing the gap between Negroes and whites will be noted. As pointed out in the preceding article, this trend appeared after the beginning of litigation in the midthirties to equalize opportunities.

In a study⁴ now available important progress is indicated in the equalization of expenditures per classroom unit. For

⁴ Hutchins, Clayton D. and Albert Munse, *The Supplement—Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury*, Washington: Office of Education, 1954.

example, in 1939-40, the median classroom expenditure for whites in the 17 States was 145 percent greater than that for Negroes. However, in 1949-50, the corresponding percentage had been reduced to 72 (12 States only).

Table II summarizes the comparative status of education among Negroes and whites at the midcentury. Data presented in these tables give some indication of what it would cost to provide real equality on a "separate but equal" basis, details of which will be discussed in a subsequent article.

In the educational trends now becoming apparent, one can see the beginning of the end of physical inequalities. The attitudes of citizens and officials generally are changing for the better. They are more and more recognizing the importance of respecting the rights of every human being, of providing that equality of opportunity which such recognition implies, and of implementing our democratic principles of freedom, justice, and equality.

Practically every State is considering one or more aspects of this matter. Most of them are seriously attempting to bring about physical and quantitative equality. All but four States have admitted Negroes to some phase of graduate or professional study in their publicly supported colleges and universities.

The appellants in the cases now before

Table II.—Summary of facts, by race, for 1949-50 in 17 States and the District of Columbia

Item	Negro	White
Percent of school population enrolled (5-17) ¹	79.4	81.0
Percent of enrolled pupils attending	85.3	88.6
Number of days attended per year	147.9	157.0
Percent of total enrollment in first 4 grades	53.6	44.6
Average length of school term, in days	173.4	177.1
Percent of total enrollment in high school	14.1	21.0
High school enrollment, number	338,032	1,558,685
Percent of youth of high school age in school (14-17) ¹	74.2	79.0
Number of high school graduates	45,291	277,192
Pupil-teacher ratio in elementary schools	32.1	27.3
Average annual salaries of teachers	\$2,143	\$2,713
Percent increase of teachers salaries over 1946	102.7	70.8
Current expense per pupil in ADA	\$95.31	\$154.69
Percent increase of current expense over 1946	65.6	47.8
Value of school property per pupil enrolled	\$85	\$335
Percent one-teacher schools of total elementary schools	43.5	32.3
Number of pupils transported (12 States)	445,711	2,393,019
Percent of pupils transported (12 States)	21.1	45.5

¹ U. S. Census 1950 (white and nonwhite for 16 States and the District of Columbia. No data by race for Delaware).

Source: These data were supplied by the Research and Statistical Standards Section of the Office of Education.

the Supreme Court are attempting two things. First, they are trying to extend the principle of desegregation downward to the public secondary and elementary schools. And second, they are attempting to have the Court define the components of equality. They are asking the question, Does the provision of physical equality in separate schools square with the democratic principles of freedom, justice, and equality underlying our way of life?

Personnel News

A. LACHLAN REED, Wayzata, Minn., has joined the staff of the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Dr. Reed will become Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education S. M. Brownell.

Dr. Reed has served as high school teacher at Silver Lake, Minn.; as instructor in English at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; as headmaster of Northrop Collegiate School, Minneapolis, Minn.; as research fellow at the Bureau of Institutional Research, University of Minnesota, and as an official of the Minneapolis-Honeywell Co., Minneapolis, Minn., in the field of sales, advertising, and editing.

From November 1941 to October 1945, Dr. Reed served as an officer in the United States Navy.

A graduate of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., Dr. Reed received his A. B. from Yale. He received his M. A. at Yale in English and a Ph. D. from the University of Minnesota in English language and literature. He has also done work in educational administration and supervision at Minnesota.

He holds membership in the Minneapolis Association of Principals, the Minneapolis Education Association, and the National Educational Association. He was the winner of the Marcia Henson Prize in American Literature at Yale, was elected member of Phi Beta Kappa, and was also the winner of the Clare Fellowship for two years' study at Clare College, Cambridge, England.

W. EARL ARMSTRONG, Acting Head, Division of Higher Education, Office of Education, will become the first executive director of the newly organized National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education on April 1. S. M. Brownell, Commissioner of Education, Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare, has granted Dr. Armstrong a leave of absence from the Office of Education to accept this position.

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education assumes responsibility on July 1 for establishing and approving teacher education standards for the Nation's 1,200 colleges and universities that prepare teachers for United States schools. Since 1927 these functions have been performed by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

In announcing Dr. Armstrong's departure from the Office of Education, Commissioner Brownell said, "In the years immediately ahead our Nation will need the best qualified teachers possible. A strong program of accreditation will help to improve the quality of teacher education provided by our colleges and universities. Dr. Armstrong's experience and leadership in this field will be a great asset to the National Council as it undertakes all teacher education accreditation in the United States."

Dr. Armstrong joined the Office of Education staff in 1949. He served with the American Council on Education in a 5-year study of teacher education, and was Dean of the School of Education, University of Delaware, immediately before coming to Washington. He has conducted teacher education surveys in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Kentucky, and has served as a consultant on teacher education and professional standards to the States of Maryland, Virginia, and Arkansas. In earlier years he filled educational positions in Oklahoma, California, and Utah.

Expenditures

(Continued from page 86)

city districts, these districts were able to provide proportionately more for classroom services than the smaller districts with fewer children could provide.

Variations in citizen interest and effort undoubtedly affect the amount of school expenditures, but the major factor appears to be the varying financial abilities of the States and school districts. For the Nation there was an average of \$196,106 of personal income back of each classroom. States ranged from a high of about \$344,000 to a low of \$63,000 per classroom unit. This agrees very well with the more than

5 to 1 variation in median expenditure levels between the high and low States.

Discussion of the equalization of education has permeated school administration literature for the past several years. The new report discusses existing situations in the States with regard to equalization, and it also supplies evidence of progress in equalizing education during the past 10 years.

For this study, special attention has been directed toward increasing financial support for the low-expenditure classrooms. The extent to which numbers of classrooms are supported at levels below the median is the chief concern of equalization efforts, and the report discusses the effectiveness of equalizing factors as well as the change in the equalization situation within the States. Some States are shown to have as many as one-third of the classrooms supported at levels below 70 percent of the State median.

These States have made insufficient progress toward equalization, which suggests a need for greater efforts toward a more effectively equalized program.

Total expenditures for elementary and secondary education were about 2.28 percent of the personal income for the 1949-50 school year. Proportions for the individual States ranged from 3.51 percent down to 1.76 percent. These percentages for 1949-50 were slightly lower than for 1939-40.

The median expenditure level for education in the United States increased from \$1,649 per classroom unit in 1939-40 to \$4,391 in 1949-50. As these two values are compared, it appears that the new level is 2.66 times as high as that for the period 10 years earlier. However, this increase must be interpreted in relation to other evidence on inflationary conditions.

Corresponding ratios of increase for the consumer's price index, income per capita, personal income per child of school age, and income per classroom unit are 1.70; 2.46; 2.67; and 2.92, respectively. These ratios imply that increases in expenditures for education were inadequate to represent more than a response to inflationary changes.

In total, *Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury* is the report of a status study which reveals levels of expenditure for education and inadequacies of plans for supporting the schools and suggests points at which State and local finance programs can be improved.

New Books and Pamphlets

Susan O. Futterer, Associate Librarian, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

(Books and pamphlets listed should be ordered from the publishers)

Administering the Elementary School; A Cooperative Educational Enterprise. By William C. Reavis, Paul R. Pierce, Edward H. Stullken, and Bertrand L. Smith. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953. 631 p. Illus. \$5.

Blueprint for Delinquency Prevention. New York State Youth Commission, Lee C. Dowling, Chairman. Albany, New York State Youth Commission, 1953. 30 p. Illus.

Citizenship for Boys and Girls. By Stanley E. Dimond. Chicago, Ill., Science Research Associates, Inc., 1953. 40 p. Illus. (Junior Life Adjustment Booklet Series.) 40 cents.

CPEA Reports to the Profession on a Developing Concept of the Superintendency of Education. By Daniel R. Davies. New York, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953. 40 p. \$1 single copy.

A Guide for Vision Screening of School Children in the Public Schools of California. Recommendations of California State Department of Public Health and California State Department of Education. Sacramento, California State Department of Education, 1953. 26 p.

Have Fun . . . Get Well! By Maryelle Dodds. New York, American Heart Association and its Affiliates, 1953. 39 p. Illus. (Copies may be obtained from American Heart Association and its Affiliates, 44 East 23d St., New York 10, N. Y.)

Health and Safety Plays and Programs. By Aileen Fisher. Boston, Plays, Inc., 1953. 267 p. \$3.50.

Health Teaching In Schools; For Teachers in Elementary and Secondary Schools; Second Edition. By Ruth E. Grout. Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Co., 1953. 353 p. Illus. \$4.25.

Introduction to Experimental Method for Psychology and Social Sciences. By John C. Townsend. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1953. 220 p. \$4.

Opportunities in Physical Education, Health, and Recreation. By Jay B. Nash.

Revised edition. New York, Vocational Guidance Manuals, Inc., 1953. 128 p. \$1.

Research Studies in Education. A Subject Index of Doctoral Dissertations, Reports, and Field Studies, 1941-51; a Loose-leaf File With Annual Supplements. By Mary Louise Lyda and Stanley B. Brown. Published by the compilers with a grant from campus chapters of Phi Delta Kappa. Boulder, Colo., 1953. 1 v. Processed. (Address: Librarian, Education Library, University of Colorado Libraries, Boulder, Colo.)

Recommended Equipment and Supplies for Nursery, Kindergarten, Primary and Intermediate Schools. Compiled by the Committee on Equipment and Supplies, Alida H. Hisle, Staff Editor. 1953 Revision. Washington, D. C., Association for Childhood Education International, 1953. 80 p. Illus. (Bulletin No. 39.) \$1.00.

Reorganizing The High-School Curriculum, Revised Edition. By Harold Alberty. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1953. 560 p. Illus. \$5.25.

Rural Social Systems and Adult Education; a Committee Report. Charles P. Loomis, Chairman; J. Allan Beegle, Editor. Resulting from a study sponsored by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities and The Fund for Adult Education established by the Ford Foundation. East Lansing, Mich., The Michigan State College Press, 1953. 392 p. \$5.

The Student Teacher in the Secondary School. By Paul R. Grim, John U. Michaelis and Others. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953. 484 p. Illus. \$6.35.

Studies in Rural Education. By Clifford P. Archer, edited by Helen A. Strand. Minneapolis, Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, University of Minnesota, 1953. 44 p.

Study Your Way Through School. By C. d'A. Gerken. Chicago, Ill., Science Research Associates, Inc., 1953. 47 p. (A Life Adjustment Booklet.) 40 cents.

Successful Teaching; Its Psychological Principles. By James L. Mursell. Second

Edition. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1954. 321 p. \$4.25.

Supplement A (1951-53) to Educational Reading Guide for the Partially Seeing. Compiled by Lorraine Galisdorfer. Buffalo, N. Y., Foster and Stewart Publishing Corp., 1953. 15 p.

Teaching Reading. By Arthur Gates. Washington, D. C., Department of Classroom Teachers, American Educational Research Association of the National Education Association, 1953. 33 p. Illus. (What Research Says to the Teacher, I.) 25 cents, single copy.

The Washington Pocket Guide. By Randle Bond Truett. New York, Hastings House, 1953. 72 p. Illus. Single copy 50 cents plus 10 cents postage. (Order from: Truett Publications, 1622 North Harrison St., Arlington 5, Va.)

The Arithmetic Teacher. A new journal for the improvement of mathematics teaching in the elementary school. To be issued October, December, February, and April. First issue February 1954. \$1.50 a year to individuals and \$2.50 a year to schools, libraries, and other institutions. (Address: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1201 16th Street, NW., Washington 6, D. C.)

The Mathematics Student Journal. A new journal for high school mathematics students containing enrichment and recreational material. To be issued October, December, February, and April. First issue February 1954. 20 cents a year or 15 cents a semester. To be mailed in bundles of five or more; teachers should submit group orders for students, all covering same period. (Address: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1201 16th Street, NW., Washington 6, D. C.)

Youth Discussion on Television. Middletown, Conn., The Junior Town Meeting League, 1953. 32 p. Illus. (Copies available from The Junior Town Meeting League, 356 Washington St., Middletown, Conn.)

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Edna K. Cave, Reports and Technical Services

Office of Education

Administration of Public Laws 874 and 815—Third Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education, June 30, 1953. \$1.

Education Directory, 1953-54—Part 3, Higher Education. Prepared by Theresa Wilkins. 55 cents.

Expenditures for Education at the Midcentury. By Clayton D. Hutchins and Albert R. Munse. Misc. No. 18, 1953. 65 cents.

Selected References to the Junior High School. By Walter H. Gaumnitz and Gertrude M. Lewis. Circular No. 369, April 1953. Free.

FREE

FREE copies are still available of the following Office of Education publications issued in recent years:

Agricultural Education—Organization and Administration. Vocational Division Bulletin No. 13, Revised 1939.

Atomic Energy Here to Stay. Supplement to School Life, March 1949.

Business Periodicals. Misc. 3148, 1948.

Business Experience for Business Teachers—Plans and Procedures. Vocational Division Bulletin No. 241, 1949.

Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1950-51. Circular No. 333.

Education in Chile. Bulletin 1945, No. 10.

Education in Turkey. Bulletin 1952, No. 10.

Educational Interests and Activities of 25 National Organizations. 1950.

Frontiers in Homemaking Education—Programs for Adults. Vocational Division Bulletin No. 239, 1949.

Homemakers in the Defense Program. Misc. 3403, January 1952.

Occupations for Girls and Women—Selected References. 1949.

Officer Training for Fire Departments. Misc. 3345, March 1951.

Pupil Transportation in Cities. Pamphlet No. 111, 1951.

Recordings for Teaching Literature and Languages in the High School. Bulletin 1952, No. 19.

A Report of an Administrative Survey of the U. S. Office of Education. October 1950.

Requirements and High School Students' Programs. Circular No. 300, February 1949.

Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare

Social Security in the United States. Describes background of the social security program, place of social security in American life, programs under the Social Security Act, and other programs relating to social security. Revised 1953. 30 cents.

Other Government Agencies

Department of Agriculture

An Analysis of Commercial Frozen Egg Products. 1953. 10 cents.

Buying Your Home Sewing Machine. 1954. 10 cents.

Cheese Varieties and Descriptions. 1953. 45 cents.

Highlights of Potato Marketing. 1953. 20 cents.

Some Highlights from Consumer Egg Studies. 1953. 10 cents.

Department of Commerce

Portfolio of United States Census Maps, 1950. 1953. Cloth, \$4.

Department of Defense

Fall of the Philippines. Based on official and unofficial documents, both United States and Japanese, this volume of *The U. S. Army in World War II* records the history of the Philippine campaign from Pearl Harbor to the surrender of Corregidor. Clothbound, \$5.25.

Department of the Interior

Forests and Trees of the National Park System. 1954. 15 cents.

Fort Pulaski National Monument, Georgia. Historical Handbook Series 18. 1954. 25 cents.

How to Cook Clams. Test Kitchen Series No. 8. 1953. 20 cents.

Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Historical Handbook Series 17. 1954. 25 cents.

Materials Survey, Beryllium. A general description of beryllium and its uses, and an historical account of its discovery and development are presented. 1953. \$1.50.

Department of Labor

Employment Outlook for Physicists. Prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with the Veterans Administration. Occupational Outlook Series Bulletin No. 1144. 1953. 25 cents.

"Older" Women as Office Workers. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 248. 1953. 25 cents.

Library of Congress

Kansas and Nebraska, Centennial of the Territories, 1854-1954, An Exhibition in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., February 3, 1954 to April 26, 1954. \$1.25.

United States Senate

Review of the United Nations Charter. Senate Document No. 87, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. 1954. \$2.50.



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